ideology and to make a militant peasantry the foundation and the pillar of the modern Ukrainian state. 538 181

We find an astonishingly simple, but profound synthesis of this entire peasant philosophy, the product of the soil, in "The Soil", a short, moving story by Vasyl Stefanyk, a contemporary poet; "Our destiny is the soil; forsake it and you are lost, cling to it and it will develop all your powers and draw out your very soul in the hollow of its hand; embrace it, subject yourself to it and it will suck the life-blood out of your veins — but in return, you have herds of sheep and horses and full stack-yards; and for your strength it will give you a cabin full of children and grand-children whose laughter is like silver bells and whose cheeks are red as the fruit of the snow ball tree . . ."

The profound love of the Ukrainian for the beauties of Nature springs from his connection with the soil, a love which seems to be firmly anchored in the depths of his soul. This aesthetic sense which is nurtured by natural forms, is reflected by the deep longing to express beauty of form, harmony of color and originality of theme in domestic surroundings, in dress or in the utensils of everyday life. Aesthetic, and not practical considerations always play the most important part, whether it be the construction of a church, the planning of a garden round a cottage, the weaving of an apron or a kerchief, the making of a table or a bench. 181 517

It is obvious that the very rich and valuable folk music and the no less rich and original folk poetry are also based on laws of aesthetic pleasure, derived from intimate intercourse with Nature and experience of her beauties.

And the Ukrainian's traditional and age-long contact with Nature is the tenacious bond between him and his culture and that of Western Europe, while at the same time it distinguishes him from the Muscovite, his neighbor in the North-East. For the latter people had never had any feeling for the soil; it regards agriculture not as an expression of love for Mother Earth, but as a necessity, or as a chance of making money. On the other hand, the Muscovites are the best traders among Slavonic peoples. The real farmer, too firmly rooted in the 181

Ukraine Under the Soviets

661 of the old Ukrainian National Republic. The regime arrested and
575 shot as chauvinist counter-revolutionists many of the active workers. Those who were spared at the moment were treated as members of the proscribed classes and were punished by the exclusion of their children from schools, the denial of food cards, etc., all the traditional devices to eliminate the counter-revolutionary and suspected classes.

At the same time the government confiscated all the funds of educational institutions and the private organizations which had, during the Ukrainian National Republic and earlier, been interested in educational and scientific work. It closed the Ukrainian scientific societies in Kharkiv and Kiev and it put an end to all of the pre-Soviet journals, newspapers, and magazines. The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences which had been planned during the regime of Hetman Skoropadsky but had not commenced its work, was treated somewhat more leniently and it was allowed to open largely to support the pretext that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was an independent state, although it was made clear that Communist influence would be exerted on its statutes and organization.

● 517 Such a period of intellectual disintegration could not fail to leave its mark on all aspects of Ukrainian culture and art. The older writers who had achieved some prominence before 1914 either retired again into the emigration or they became silent. The younger generation, which was just rising into prominence, was either driven into temporary seclusion or, for the most part, swept into the surging current of events. They felt the leftward urge of many of the intellectuals and tried in one way or another to catch the spirit of the times in their works.

Yet it must be realized that, as in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, there still did not exist a predominant party line in the field of literature and the arts. Writers, painters and dramatists of widely differing tendencies accepted the revolution and loudly protested that they and they alone were the true mouthpieces of the times and greedily sought for support from the commissars.

They were the more fortunate in this because the bulk of the

½[Eradication of pre-communist cultural organizations in 1920 -- Analyst

leaders, like Rakovsky, had little appreciation of Ukrainian life. 5/7 ● Few of them understood the language and they preferred to work [645] through the Russians in the cities and the Donets basin. They were, however, still unable to deal advantageously with the villages where the Ukrainian population was chiefly congregated and they allowed the former Borotbisty to secure key positions in the People's Commissariat for Education. Thus it came about that the one commissariat which could exert the most direct influence on the cultural life of the country was the one in which the Ukrainian influence was strongest.

The time was not propitious for the publication of works of large size and of high artistic value. The years 1919, 1920 and 1921 were years of turmoil when nothing seemed to be real and permanent except death and violence of every kind. The mere struggle for existence was so intense that it absorbed the energy of almost the entire population and the economic decay spread like a creeping paralysis over the land. To the destruction of the civil wars [669] and of the fighting with Denikin were now added the ravages of the Communist detachments, which swarmed over the country seeking for food to take to the north to save the Russians.

In the early months it would be hardly fair to talk of a Com- 642 munist system of government, for while the theorists were debating [661] as to how they should build socialism and Communism, armed Communist bands organized under the Red Army or under the Cheka (the Extraordinary Committee for Suppression of the Counter-Revolution) indulged in mass terror, murder and robbery.

The measures adopted in Petrograd and Moscow for the dis- 423 tribution of the land were ill adapted for the Ukrainian situation. 369 It was only natural that these were applied with a certain amount of peasant approval at the expense of the larger Russian and Polish landlords, many of whom had cooperated with the Germans. This was the more natural because in pre-war days the bulk of the grain that had been exported from Ukraine had come from these estates and, as everywhere in peasant Europe, the confiscation and division of the land among the peasants reduced the amount of food stuffs available for the urban population.

[of Ukrainian Soviet Republic, 1919 -- Analyst]

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Early Trials

517 186 The change of economic policy which had ushered in the collectivization of agriculture seemed at first to offer no threat to the cultural movement which was going on in Ukraine. Despite the open criticisms that had been made of Khvylovy and the more secret opposition that Skrypnyk was meeting, the cultural work continued in all its aspects. Politically the Commissariat of Education was still continuing its work, the new literature was proceeding with more and more important works being produced, and outside and somewhat apart from the political life of the day, Ukrainian scholarship was producing ever more serious works.

No one openly thought of overthrowing the regime although latent discontent could be discovered among the entire population. It had been years since there had been any open opposition. The unruly leaders who had appealed to arms had either gone abroad or quieted down and there was no one who was even suspected of the kind of disloyalty that had been widespread during the period of Militant Communism.

186 814 687 661 Then, in 1929, just as the compulsory collectivization was being prepared, the Ukrainian Soviet government announced that it had discovered the evidence of the existence of a secret society, the Society for the Liberation of Ukraine, and it commenced a series of arrests of some of the outstanding intellectual leaders of the scientific world. This resulted in a public trial and condemnation of the accused but for the most part they received relatively light sentences.

Who were involved? For the most part they were individuals who had played more or less important roles in the Ukrainian

accused of having belonged to a subversive League for the Liberation of the Ukraine.[24] That this campaign of suppression coincided with the drive for the collectivization of agriculture in the Ukraine is hardly coincidental. In many respects the Ukrainian peasant was much more profoundly affected by the establishment of the kolkhoz (Ukrainian *kolhosp*), or collective farm, than was the Russian. The former was frequently more prosperous, hence had more to lose; moreover, the lack of a traditional communal agricultural organization in the Ukraine made the new system more alien and repugnant.

It appears certain that the Ukrainian peasantry formed a disproportionate, if not predominant, part of the hapless millions deported as "kulaks" to Siberia or Kazakhstan or driven by famine to the primitive slums of the expanding Soviet cities. Very probably this situation created a potential basis for a national rebellion based on economic and social oppression by alien rulers, just as had the Polish and Russian preponderance in governmental and landowning groups before the war. The Communists were frequently forced to use non-Ukrainians, Russian and Jewish intellectuals, workers from the towns, where they had real support, or persons imported from Russia itself, in order to carry out collectivization. Consequently, it is probable that the suppression of the nationalist intelligentsia at this time was at least in part a precautionary step to destroy a group which was of limited danger in itself yet might have presented a real threat to the Communists if it could have utilized the discontent of the peasants to turn them to nationalism. To what extent the Soviet regime succeeded in eliminating the nationalist intellectuals is one of the principal topics which will be dealt with on the basis of the evidence provided in this study. It should be noted at this point,

[1930 movement by Stalin to crush "national deviation" -- Analyst]

[24] Cf. Reshetar, "National Deviation," p. 166; T. Skubyts'kyi, "Klassovaia bor'ba v ukrainskoi istoricheskoi literature" (The Class Struggle in Ukrainian Historical Literature), *Istorik-Marksist*, No. 17 (1930), pp. 27–40 (one of the principal Communist assaults on the Hrushevs'kyi school and other "deviationists"). The whole question of the purge of intellectuals, with special reference to historians, is discussed at length by Boris Krupnyts'kyi in "Die Ukrainische Geschichtswissenschaft in der Sowjetunion 1921–1941," in *Jahrbücher für die Geschichte Osteuropas*, 194?, pp. 125–51. For Skrypnyk's official statement, see his *Statti i promovy* (Articles and Speeches) (Kharkov: Derzhavne Vydavnytsvo Ukraïny, 1930), Vol. I: *Spil'ka Vyzvolennia Ukraïny* (The League for the Liberation of the Ukraine), pp. 413–36.

however, that their resistance was undoubtedly crushed between 1930 and the closing series of purge trials in 1937–38.[25]

While articulate nationalism was being crushed in the Soviet Ukraine, a somewhat different development was taking place in the West Ukraine. In Poland the extreme policy of the ruling nationality, which had been chauvinistic enough under the Austrian empire, became still more violent toward the Ukrainians after the reestablishment of the Polish national state. As was previously noted, Petliura's agreement with the Poles had been deeply resented by the Galician Ukrainians. While most nationalists endeavored to smooth over criticism of Petliura personally, especially after his assassination in Paris in 1925, most West Ukrainians gave no support to the émigré UNR government. The West Ukrainians, on the contrary, tried their own approaches to the problem of carrying on Ukrainian life under conditions of oppression by non-totalitarian, but intolerant, alien nationalist governments.

One attempted solution was the formation of legally recognized parties which carried on electoral campaigns and sent representatives to the Polish Sejm or parliament where they attempted to protect the interests of their group within the framework of means permitted by the ruling nationality. This type of political activity, together with a wide variety of cultural work aimed at developing Ukrainian culture and maintaining the national distinctiveness of the masses, absorbed the efforts of a very large proportion of the West Ukrainian intelligentsia during the twenties and thirties. In particular, most of the older generation which had been reared under the relatively peaceful and stable conditions of Austrian rule, circles closely associated with the Greek Catholic Church, and most of the liberal professions engaged in this activity. Although there were a number of minor parties, some of which had authoritarian leanings, the majority of this segment of Ukrainian political workers was grouped in the Ukrainian National Democratic Union (Ukraïns'ke Natsional'ne Demokratychne Ob"iednannia—UNDO), which was definitely democratic in character, with varying amounts of Catholic, liberal, and socialist ideology embodied in its program. Its efforts met

[25] Cf. Reshetar, "National Deviation," p. 166.

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

It was much more difficult to secure a predominant place for the nationalist ideology in the schools. As is usually the case in nationalist indoctrination in the schools, the efforts were concentrated upon the teaching of history.[41] This was especially important, since the justification of the Ukrainian independence movement is largely based upon the conception of a proud history distinct from that of the people of Moscow. Naturally enough, no Soviet textbooks were acceptable for the teaching of history from this point of view or from the general standpoint of eradicating Communist indoctrination. To some extent the gap was filled by books published in the year preceding the Soviet war by the educational press of the Ukrainian Central Committee in Cracow.[42] Some texts were printed by the cultural department of the Kiev city administration. An amateurish effort was made also by certain OUN-B organizers to print locally a new version of Ukrainian history with an introduction of their own composition.[43] In view of the great material shortages and the brief time available, however, the lack of printed materials could not be made good. Consequently, a great deal depended on securing the proper teachers. To what extent the many thousands employed in the schools adhered to the nationalist doctrine is of course impossible to determine, but a number of purely indigenous formulations of nationalist concepts to be inculcated in the schools attest to the strength of nationalist feeling. The head of the Mariupol' school system proposed to stress the native language, love of the fatherland, and respect for elders; the educational ideology advocated by the group of young men who reorganized life in Krivoi Rog was instillation of Cossack ideals, the code of the Zaporozhian Sich, which was to lead to a spiritual, moral, and physical regeneration.[44]

Since the formal school program was largely confined to young children, great efforts were also concentrated on developing a voluntary system of adult education. The Prosvita societies had

Visti, June 5, 1942, pp. 3–4; *Krakivs'ki Visti*, January 27, 1943, p. 4, quoting D. Nitsenko in *Nova Ukraïna* (Kharkov).

[42] Prykhod'ko in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, June 5, 1942, pp. 3–4.

[43] Druzhynnyk in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, October 10, 1941, p. 2.

[44] Zynovii Matla, *Pivdenna pokhidna hrupa* (The Southern Task Force) (Munich: Tsitsero, 1952), p. 28.

[45] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, September 29, 1942, p. 2; November 15, 1941, p. 2; and November 18, 1941, p. 3 (referring to an article in *Dzvin* [Krivoi Rog], September, 1941).

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

been founded by the nationalist intelligentsia of the East Ukraine many years before the Revolution. They were now revived, after long suppression by the Communist regime, to carry on the work of developing national culture and inculcating a feeling of national identity. The two aims could be combined because all nationalist Ukrainians felt it essential to instill a love of the indigenous popular arts and customs, emphasizing their distinctive nature. That this effort had a political as well as a cultural significance is indicated by the fact that not only the Soviet regime (both before 1941 and upon reconquest, as in Kharkov)[45] but the German police as well attacked the Prosvita societies, and in the Reichskommissariat they were able, for varying periods, to lead only a clandestine life. The desire for national expression was shared by so many, however, that the Germans felt it was impossible to dam up all outlets; therefore the Prosvita was generally permitted, though under close observation.[46] Together with the church (and a few local societies not using the Prosvita name but having the same function), it was one of the few organizations of a nationalist character which was not under direct German control.

The work of the Prosvita groups, although arranged in various ways in different localities, may be classified under four general headings. Playing a major role everywhere were musical activities, particularly choral groups, in which the Ukrainians had always excelled, and which served as a powerful intellectual and emotional stimulus to nationalist feeling, since most of the songs were distinctively Ukrainian. In addition, groups of *bandura* players (the *bandura* is a small lute-like stringed instrument indigenous to the Ukraine) were sponsored, and orchestras were trained. In the larger centers, Prosvita collaborated with regular professional musical organizations, such as conservatories and operas, to produce nationalist-inspired performances. For example, operas were reopened in Kiev and Kharkov, and offered a considerable repertoire of native Ukrainian pieces (*Taras Bul'ba, Natalka Poltavka,* etc.) as well as traditional Western

[45] Cf. *Nastup,* September 26, 1943, p. 3 (based on *Vinnyts'ki Visti,* August 29, 1943), on the destruction of Prosvita and its personnel in Kharkov during the Soviet interlude in February-March, 1943.

[46] MS E; PS 3943, May 22, 1942.

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

operas such as *Madame Butterfly* and *Les Cloches de Corneville*. Like other forms of national expression, however, operatic performances ran afoul of the Nazi hatred of independent activity. At first, the desirable places in the Kiev opera were reserved for Germans, and then, in December, 1942, the performances were suspended altogether, an action which aroused the indignation of all elements of the population.[47]

Within a matter of days after the Red Army was driven out, active theatrical groups likewise sprang up, usually with Prosvita sponsorship, even in the smaller cities of the East Ukraine. For example, a theater had been started in Zhitomir before the first month of German occupation was past.[48] Even in cities like Chernigov and Simferopol' (in the Crimea), where evidences of nationalist activity were scanty, the theater was soon in full career.[49] Since the players were generally amateurs interested in using this medium of expression of their nationalist feeling, the performances were nationalist in content as well as language (evidently to a greater extent than the opera which, being composed largely of professional performers, was imbued with an "all-Union," i.e., Russian, character, at least behind the scenes).[50] Some presentations were so strongly imbued with nationalist ideology that they were censored by the Germans; the author of one of the most popular, Constantine Hupalo, was arrested for nationalist activity.[51]

Prosvita and related groups sponsored a wide variety of more directly educational activities. These included lectures, valued as a means of propagating knowledge of the language as well as for their content; libraries and reading rooms, vital to the spread of the printed word in view of the extreme scarcity of even periodical literature; nationalist cultural work in the schools; and research and discussion on themes of national history and ethnography. In the more vigorous and less restricted societies, like the

[47] Interrogation of Shtepa, CXLVa 78; PS 1198.

[48] *Ukraïns'ka Diisnist'*, September 15, 1941, p. 1 (from *Ukraïns'ke Slovo* [Zhitomir], August 3, 1941).

[49] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, December 6, 1941, p. 4 (based on an interview with Theodore Pipa, the Chernigov editor).

[50] Cf. Tarkovych in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, July 15, 1942, p. 3.

[51] His play, entitled *The Triumph of Procurator Dal'shii*, was a drama of the Ukrainian nationalist movement under Soviet rule (*OUN u Viini*, p. 74).

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

Prosvita in Kharkov, these activities were greatly extended. The latter group operated a House of Popular Culture which served as a center for most nationalist organizations in the city, and came close to developing into an unofficial government.[52] Moreover, under the leadership of the energetic Professor V. V. Dubrovs'kyi, it undertook economic as well as purely cultural activities, such as book publishing and the provision of material aid for needy teachers and students.[53] Some indication of the scope of Prosvita's activities in Kharkov is provided by the fact that membership reached one thousand, while four thousand persons attended one of its concert series.[54]

In most places *Prosvita* and other cultural activities appear to have developed quite independently of the Nationalist party organizers from the west. To a certain extent the ideology of the Nationalists, especially that of the OUN-B, made them contemptuous of such gradual and unspectacular methods of developing nationalist strength.[55] To be sure, in centers such as Kiev and Zhitomir, which were strongly permeated by the OUN-M forces, cooperative relations existed between the latter and the local founders of Prosvita, but the Nationalist party did not have the personnel to carry on cultural work itself and apparently did

[52] Cf. Serednopolets'kyi in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, February 24, 1942, p. 2, on organizations operating in the House of National Culture. Erich Koch, in his letter to Rosenberg of March 16, 1943 (PS 192), complained that the Wehrmacht permitted the Kharkov Prosvita to become a sort of national government, and its role as a political as well as a cultural force is confirmed by Interview 73.

[53] *Nastup*, September 26, 1943, p. 3, based on an interview with a leading member of the Kharkov Prosvita, Professor P. Petrenko, in *Vinnyts'ki Visti*, August 29, 1943.

[54] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, February 10, 1943, p. 2.

[55] For example, Ievhen (Eugene) Stakhiv ("E. Pavliuk"), "Borot'ba ukraïns'koho narodu na skhidno-ukraïns'kykh zemliakh, 1941–1944: Spomyny ochevydtsia i uchasnyka" (The Struggle of the Ukrainian People in the Eastern Ukrainian Lands, 1941–44: Memories of an Eyewitness and Participant), in *Kalendar Provydinnia na 1947 rik. Stovaryshennia Ukraïns'kikh Katolykiv v Amerytsi* (Calendar for 1947 of the Providence Society of Ukrainian Catholics in America) (Philadelphia: Ameryka, n.d.), p. 40, writes that it was necessary for OUN-B members to withdraw from Prosvita, amateur groups, etc., as these (after the introduction of the Reichskommissariat) were only tools of the Germans, and nationalist participation in them gave color to the Communist propaganda which represented the OUN as an agency of the Germans. On the other hand, the clandestine *Biuleten'* (No. 4, previously cited), in calling for an extension of OUN-B activity to all fields of life, criticizes those who condemn activity which is not of a strictly terroristic, revolutionary nature as "Prosvitanstvo."

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

not find the Prosvita organization well adapted to its tactic of underground work after German suppression.[56] On the other hand, the extremely important Kharkov Prosvita was organized almost entirely by local residents who had in many cases been associated with the Prosvita of pre-Soviet days, and who were unassociated with, or even to some extent hostile to, the OUN-M.[57] Here again there is strong indication of the survival in the East Ukraine of leadership capable of taking direction of important aspects of national life. That this leadership was directed to such a considerable extent to the less aggressive aspects of national development, however, indicates that a certain gap existed during the war years between nationalism in the East and the West Ukraine.

The means employed in the educational systems and in the cultural societies for propagating the national ideology can be classed for the most part under the heading of oral propaganda. The face-to-face type of communication has a long history of effective use in the east Slavic countries and, under the name "oral agitation," has been widely cultivated as a means of strengthening the Communist regime. Hence the population was used to this type of propaganda. Moreover, it was especially suited to the work of the nationalist groups, which were seeking to spread ideas frowned upon by the German authorities. The latter could suppress a performance or dissolve a society, arrest or execute a leader, but with their small number of personnel, their ignorance of the language, and their lack of sufficiently numerous and reliable local agents, they could not overhear everything and thus prevent the clever teacher or cultural worker from communicating political concepts to his audience. Since nationalist propagandists were so few and ill-equipped by organization and training to cope with the gigantic task of indoctrinating a population of thirty million, however, the problem of securing access to mass communication media under control of the propaganda departments of the municipal administrations was vitally important. Through such media nationalism might reach thousands

[56] Interview 61.
[57] Interviews 57, 73.

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

[475] 565 cooperative enterprises. Hence the development of a middle class on the traditional Western model did not take place.

● 517 186 Actually, in the Ukraine, as in many other countries in which nationalist movements have developed, it was other components of the middle class which played the leading role. These were the intellectuals, the professionals, and the bureaucrats, together with the student body from which they were recruited. All four of these categories, together with a vast number of persons who would in Western usage be classified simply as clerks, technicians, or even custodial personnel, are lumped together in Soviet classifications as "intelligentsia"—i.e., all whose work does not involve a large measure of manual labor.[4] The leaders of the nationalist movements came from a narrower stratum however. The majority of this leadership consisted of intellectuals par excellence; that is, it was drawn from the academic or literary profession.

This crucial statement requires some proof, which is difficult to present in the absence of statistics or the possibility of sampling, both of which are unavailable for obvious reasons. However, the preponderance of intellectuals is indicated indirectly by figures previously cited on the extremely high proportion of persons with higher or secondary education employed in the Kiev city and *raion* administrations in 1942,[5] and by the statements from well-informed participants that these and other administrations, as well as editorial staffs, served as refuges for intellectuals displaced from their normal occupations.[6] Furthermore, the efforts of nationalist groups, whether OUN or local, were directed very largely toward assisting and encouraging the teachers and writers, a factor which suggests that they were closely tied to these segments of the population. For example, Mel'nyk organizers in Kiev in the winter of 1941–42 made special efforts to secure work in the cooperatives for teachers in order to enable them to avoid forced labor for the rebuilding of bridges.[7] Similarly, the strong

[4] For a discussion of the concept in Soviet usage, see Julian Towster, *Political Power in the USSR* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1948), pp. 324 ff.

[5] See Chapter IX.

[6] See Chapter V.

[7] Iurko Stepovyi, *Syn Zakarpattia: Ukraïns'ke revoliutsiine pidpillia v Kyievi 1941–1942 r.* (A Son of Transcarpathia: The Ukrainian Revolutionary Underground in Kiev 1941–42) (Munich, 1947), p. 16. According to one account, the Red Cross in Kiev also aided the intelligentsia (along with prisoners of war) to a special degree (*Krakivs'ki Visti*, December 4, 1942, p. 2).

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

East Ukrainian nationalist group in Kharkov took the unusual step of utilizing Prosvita as a relief organization for educators.[8] In addition, the very ability of nationalist elements to maintain themselves in the educational systems when other departments of administration had passed from their hands indicates that the staffs of these branches of administration were especially imbued with nationalism. The comparatively small number of cases and lack of availability of any sampling technique precludes generalization solely on the basis of cases known to the writer of this study. It may be noted, however, that of some sixty East Ukrainians prominent in the nationalist movement whose occupational background is known, about three fifths were either instructors in higher schools, teachers, journalists, or writers. As examples, some of the most prominent may be mentioned. All three mayors of German-occupied Kiev were educators. The chief of the *oblast* administration in Dniepropetrovsk, organized with OUN-B help, was the dean of the electro-technical faculty of the university; later, a member of its medical faculty played the leading role in organizing a "national council" for the OUN-M.[9] The great majority of the Kharkov group, including all of the major organizers of Prosvita, as well as at least two of the OUN-M Ekzekutyva, were university professors; so were the editors of the nationalist-oriented papers in Stalino and Voroshilovgrad (Luhans'k).[10] Among the new Autocephalous bishops, the single East Ukrainian who did not have a clerical background, Professor Haievs'kyi, was also an educator. Writers, while much less prominent, were important. Arkadii Liubchenko, perhaps the best known of all who joined the OUN, has already been described. Most of the nationalist editors were drawn from trained writers, although as in the case of the poet Pronchenko in Krivoi Rog, they appear to have been more often men whose careers were in belles-lettres than professional reporters or editorial workers.

That such a high proportion of available leadership for the nationalist movement came from educators and writers is probably due in part to the leading role played by "national Communist" educational commissars like Shums'kyi and Skrypnyk more

[8] *Nastup*, September 26, 1943, p. 3, referring to *Vinnyts'ki Visti*, August 29, 1943.
[9] Interviews 1, 48.
[10] Interview 66.

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

than a decade earlier in fostering national culture. Evidently even the repeated Communist purges could not wholly eradicate the permeation of the educational system by nationalist ideas. Indeed, Skrypnyk and other Communists of that period were praised openly by writers in the war years as defenders of the Ukrainian "national idea," [11] and Skrypnyk's plan for an orthographical commission to set standards for Ukrainian publications was formally revived. It should be noticed, however, that direct links between nationalist leaders of the war period and the Skrypnyk group were very few. Moreover, the Russophile leaders were also predominantly intellectuals.[12] The general conclusion appears to be that the intellectuals (using the term in the Western sense) as a group were the most disaffected stratum in Soviet society capable of assuming a leadership role. Of great significance is the fact that a very high proportion of all those who were active in nationalist life under the German occupation had direct reasons for resentment against the Soviet regime, either because they had been barred from intellectual work or because they had been imprisoned for anti-Soviet activity. Also they had a wider historical perspective and hence were quicker to react to the new situation.

The second most important group was composed of engineers and other technical specialists like agronomy experts and chemists. Several of these were closely associated with academic life. Others seem to have been drawn from the operating staffs of Soviet industrial establishments, as in the great metallurgical center of Krivoi Rog, where a group of young men composed predominantly of engineers took over the rebuilding of city life soon after the Soviet troops withdrew.[13] One of their number became mayor, was active in nationalist work, probably in connection with the OUN-B, and as a result was executed by the Germans.[14] The most active local recruit of the OUN-M in Kiev, who

[11] Victor Prykhod'ko in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, January 18–19, 1942, p. 2.

[12] Although two of their most prominent leaders (Bohatyrchuk and the mayor of Vinnitsa) were physicians, they were also occupants of academic chairs.

[13] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, November 22, 1941, p. 3.

[14] MS E; Ievhen (Eugene) Stakhiv ("E. Pavliuk"), "Borot'ba ukraïns'koho narodu na skhidno-ukraïns'kykh zemliakh, 1941–1944: spomyny ochevydtsia i uchasnyka" (The Struggle of the Ukrainian People in the Eastern Ukrainian Lands, 1941–44: Memories of an Eyewitness and Participant), in *Kalendar Provydinnia na 1947 rik. Stovaryshennia Ukraïns'kikh Katolykiv v Amerytsi* (Calendar for 1947 of the Providence Society of Ukrainian Catholics in America) (Philadelphia: Ameryka, n.d.), p. 39.

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

education of children, and self-control.[42] Generally, however, the clergy was unable to reach many of the Soviet-trained youth; in several villages the latter even objected to returning the church buildings to religious use, preferring that they should be used for Prosvita clubs.[43]

One of the chief agencies by which secular national concepts penetrated the village was indeed the Prosvita organization. How effective it was in general is impossible to say in the absence of more detailed evidence, but in some cases it evidently did at least provide reading material and some cultural contacts of a nationalist character. In this respect the rural teachers were especially important. There is considerable difference of opinion as to their effectiveness as propagators of nationalism, some observers feeling that they did an excellent job under difficult circumstances, others asserting that they lacked national consciousness and were imbued with Communist ideas.[44]

The great difficulty was in finding persons who were sufficiently educated and receptive to nationalist concepts to act as transmitters of propaganda. In the Podolian village referred to above, for example, the physician, who had been a UNR officer, played the chief role in stimulating nationalist feeling. He was greatly assisted in his task by his wife, the village *feldsher* (a sort of trained nurse or secondary category of medical worker); the priest described above; four teachers; and a lawyer. These constituted the "real intelligentsia" as compared with the "half-intelligentsia," consisting of the village elder, the village secretary, two cooperative workers, three kolkhoz directors, three agronomists, four bookkeepers, and three account-keepers, who were described as having "no unified outlook," being still "under the influence of Bolshevik ideology." [45] This criticism of the lower strata of clerical workers in the Soviet intelligentsia, which formed such a key segment of the rural population, is not uncommon in nationalist

[42] *Ukraïns'kyi Visnyk*, April 4, 1943, pp. 6–7.
[43] Iurii Tarkovych in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, January 18–19, 1942, p. 3.
[44] Cf. *Ukraïns'kyi Visnyk*, April 4, 1943, pp. 6–7; *Krakivs'ki Visti*, November 18, 1941, for favorable reports; and Zynovii Matla, *Pivdenna pokhidna hrupa* (The Southern Task Force) (Munich: Tsitsero, 1952), pp. 28–29, for some criticisms of the rural teachers.
[45] *Ukraïns'kyi Visnyk*, April 4, 1943, pp. 6–7.

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

186 writers.[46] To a certain extent it may be due to resentment against
565 the clerical workers' unresponsiveness to nationalist propaganda,
369 or even to simple snobbery toward those aspiring to the title of
517 "intelligentsia" without a formal education. In part it appears, however, to correspond to a real lack of breadth of mind among this lowest group of the Soviet intelligentsia, a deficiency which would have made it difficult to use them for any political or social movement not tied immediately to their customary frame of thinking.

On the other hand, there were often elements in the villages which were available for some sort of political activity. The memory of Petliura was still present; some refused to believe that he was dead, thinking the story to be Communist propaganda.[47] In another area, both the president of the village soviet and the head of one of the collective farms remained behind and organized life in cooperation with nationalist elements.[48] Yet, in another case, a man of some education in one of the villages, who was related to an émigré minister of the UNR, after expressing fervently nationalist sentiments, recoiled with horror at the idea that his auditor might recommend him to the Germans for an official post, fearing the vengeance of Communist agents.[49] The presence of the latter was, indeed, a great handicap to nationalist organization in the rural areas, where the protection of the police force was not so great (especially in partisan-infested areas) as in the towns, and where the naturally cautious peasant hesitated to commit himself until assured the Soviet administration would never return.[50]

186 Since the organized nationalist forces were so few in members,
369 they could not undertake any direct or continuous indoctrination
208 of the rural population, unless they abandoned their efforts to win the cities. They had to rely primarily on the Prosvita branches, the country schools, and the village administrations. Printed material was also used whenever it could be controlled

[46] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, September 23, 1941, p. 2, reprinting an article from *L'vivs'ki Visti*.
[47] R. Sutor in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, June 13, 1942, p. 4.
[48] R. Sutor in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, July 31, 1942, p. 3.
[49] R. Sutor in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, June 13, 1942, p. 4.
[50] R. Sutor in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, July 31, 1942, p. 3.

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

the Germans, the Hungarians, and the Poles, allied itself at this moment with the anti-Polish Ruthenian movement, just as it allied itself at the same time with the Czechs and the Croatians. The greater part of the promises of the Austrian Government, given under the pressure of revolutionary events, were not kept afterwards. This applied particularly to those promises which concerned the partition of Galicia into two provinces, that of Polish Cracov and of Ruthenian Eastern Galicia.

Nevertheless this 'springtime,' although of short duration, did not fail to awaken the hopes which had survived so long and which helped the task of Austrian policy. An important social consequence emerged from the events of 1848: the abolition of serfdom thirteen years before the emancipation of the serfs in Russia.

In the following decades Austrian policy developed cleverly between the Poles and the Hungarians, although more inclined towards the first who were more conservative from the social point of view and, consequently, more in tune with the general lines of the policy of Vienna.

The Ruthenian language and instruction continued to enjoy a certain liberty on condition that they did not fall under Pan-Russian influences.

Austrian policy at least had the merit of allowing the Ukrainian language and culture to develop and thus to give birth to an imaginative literature and to a journalistic movement of some importance, having its centre at Lvov, which became the nucleus of Ukrainian intellectual life. Numerous cultural institutions appeared one after another; journals, reviews, literary circles, and finally the Ruthenian University of Lvov.

After the measures of restriction which were taken against Ukrainianism in Russia, the intellectual circles of

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

517 the Russian Ukraine had resource to Galician publications and, from time to time, they published their own works in that country. It is as a result of this that the Chevtchenko Society was founded at Lvov, which has since held the predominant place in the Ukrainian movement.

Following the example of Chevtchenko, another influence joined the popular so to say 'folk-lore' tendency of the literary Ukrainian movement: it was the social question, identical with that which dominated the literary spirit of the whole of Russia.

565 668 The second half of the eighteenth century, which had seen the union of Western Ukraine with Russia and the colonization of the shores of the Black Sea, was at the same time the epoch of the greatest development of the privileges of the aristocracy. We shall not be able to go into the details of this evolution, which would go far beyond the purpose of this book. Let us only note that after the death of Peter the Great in 1725 the new nobility, of military origin, became the greatest political force in the State. This nobility definitely emancipated itself from its old bondage to the State and at the same time transformed the dependence of the peasants, which had hitherto not been unconditional, into a real servitude. Thus Catherine II established in Russia, as also in the Ukraine, a new political and social order which was founded on the privileged position of the aristocracy which had carried her to power, and on the servitude of the peasants. She conferred similar rights on the Ukrainian nobility as those of the aristocracy of the whole empire and, moreover, liberally distributed the new lands to the landlords. Since that time the question of the servitude of the peasants, a distant but direct prelude of the Revolution, became an open wound of the Tsarist regime.

that it was in the interest of Prussia to help the Ukrainian people to cast off the chains of Muscovite slavery. During the Great French Revolution the person of Napoleon was very popular in Ukraine. Ukrainian patriots were pleased by the victories of the French Emperor, and hoped that, after the defeat of Russia in a war with France, the time for the liberation of Ukraine would come, and the odious serfdom would be abolished. But Napoleon had no understanding of the Ukrainian problem. He planned the creation of two states 'Napoléonides' in Ukraine under his protectorate ...*)

Ukrainian history has gone its own way, different from that of Russia. This has created the peculiar national character of the Ukrainians.

The foreigners who had visited Ukraine in the 17th and 18th centuries pointed out the higher level of civilisation among the Ukrainians in comparison with the Russians, and the highly developed feeling of personal dignity of the Ukrainian people. This love of freedom of the Ukrainian people appeared also in the fight against Tsarist absolutism in Russia, where revolutionaries of Ukrainian origin occupied the first places, Zhelyabov, Kybalchych, Konashevych, Osynsky, Kravchynsky (Stepnyak), Popko, and many other members of the party '*Narodnaya Volya*'.

In the 19th century, under the influence of the ideas of that time (the Great French Revolution, romanticism) the regeneration of the so-called unhistorical pepoples (Serbians, Bulgarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Baltic peoples) began; in the beginning it was the interest for the language and history of the peoples among the educated classes, and the attempt to write in the 'common people's' language. In Ukraine the regeneration of the popular literary language began with the publication of the satirical poem of Ivan Kotlyarevsky *Aeneid:* 1798. In this poem the author underlines his dislike of serfdom and the lords

> "who did not give the people freedom
> and treated them like cattle."

Democratic ideas were widespread in Ukraine; the representatives of the Ukrainian educated classes took an active part in the revolutionary organisations directed towards the fall of the Tsarist régime (the uprising of the 'Decabrists', 1825—26, was most active in Ukraine, near Kiev).

In 1846 a Ukrainian political organisation, *The Society of St. Cyrill and Methodius,* was founded in Kiev. Many prominent representatives of Ukrainian culture like Taras Shevchenko (the

*) *Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes:* Paris 1922.

175 greatest Ukrainian poet), Mykola Kostomarov, historian, Panteleimon Kulish, historian and poet, Mykola Hulak, and others, took part in this organisation.

In the declarations of this society the idea of an independent Ukrainian democratic republic was promulgated: "And Ukraine will resurrect from her grave ... And Ukraine will be an independent republic" *(The Books of the Being of the Ukrainian Nation,* the work of the Society of St. Cyrill and Methodius).

The Russian Government punished the members of this society severely and acted rigorously against Ukrainian political and cultural regeneration.

[191] In 1863 the Russian Minister Valuyev declared that "the Ukrainian language did not exist, does not exist and cannot exist." In 1876, by a secret order of the Tsar, the printing and circulation of Ukrainian books, periodicals etc. in the Russian Empire was prohibited. Even the Bible in Ukrainian was forbidden. Ukrainian could not be tought in schools. The Ukrainian press in the Russian Empire was forbidden until 1905. Only the revolution of 1917 made the introduction of Ukrainian in schools possible. This prohibition of the living language of a considerable nation, the instrument of its culture, had disastrous consequences for the Ukrainian people and is a feature absolutely unique in universal history.

[871] The prohibition of the Ukrainian language in the schools and in 175 the press hindered the development of education in Ukraine. The statistics show that the number of schools and the level of education 517 in Ukraine were higher in the 18th century than in the 19th*). On the other hand, the Russian schools separated the educated classes of the Ukrainian nation from their nationality, and put the intelligentsia of Ukrainian origin into the service of Russian culture. Thus, besides the economic exploitation to the advantage of the Russian Empire, Ukraine was deprived of her best intellectual forces which were drowned in the 'Russian Sea'. We can quote here only some names of prominent Ukrainians who, by virtue of circumstances, helped to create the Russian civilisation, and gave their talents for the increase of the Russian Empire: Archbishop Theophan Prokopovych, the deputy of the Patriarch of Moscow Stephan Javorsky, Bishop Dmytro Rostovsky — were prominent Ukrainian scholars of the time of Tsar Peter I. who were forced

*) Thus there were in 1748 in four regiments (Ukraine had a military Cossack administration) of the Hetmanate (for three regiments the figures are missing) 866 elementary schools, i. e., one school for 1000 inhabitants. From this, little or almost nothing remained in the 19th century.

to leave Ukraine and to serve the Muscovite State. The Ukrainian, Prince Alexander Bezborodko, directed for many years Russian foreign policy in the time of Catherine II. (1762—1796) and of Paul I., who is known, however, to have disliked Russia and to have dreamt of a free Ukraine. The greatest talents of modern Russian literature, Gogol and Dostoyevsky, were of Ukrainian origin; Gogol did not master Russian exactly until the end of his life, it was strange to him. Far-famed scholars — Maxim Kovalevsky, sociologist; the philosophers Lesevich and Yurkevich, Vladimir Vernadsky, geologist, the famous painter Ilya Repin, — were Ukrainians of whom Russian culture is proud.

The Ukrainians in the provinces of Austria, Galicia and Bukovina had lost their educated classes under the rule of the Poles and Turks. Here, as well as in the Ukrainian territory to the West of the Carpathian Mountains, Carpatho-Ukraine, which was under Hungarian rule, the Ukrainians were principally peasants; the cities were mostly not-Ukrainian. During the 'Spring of the Peoples' in 1848 the Ukrainian national movement in Austria and Hungary also appeared. In Galicia the Ruthenian Supreme Council — a political representative of the Ukrainians in Austria — was created. At the elections for the Austrian Parliament the Ukrainians secured a considerable number of mandates. The national rebirth began also in the Ukrainian territory on the western side of the Carpathian Mountains. But the reaction which occured in Austria hindered the Ukrainian national development. The Vienna Government put the Ukrainians in Galicia and Carpatho-Ukraine under Polish and Hungarian rule respectively in order to make the Poles and Hungarians loyal towards Austria. This enabled the Poles and Hungarians to conduct a policy of denationalisation against the Ukrainians. Only at the end of the 19th century, in spite of great hindrances on the part of the Poles, a Ukrainian political and cultural life developed in Galicia. In connection with this, Ukrainian science and literature, prohibited in Kiev, Kharkov, and Odessa, found a home in Galicia (Lviw), and Bukovina (Chernivtsi). Ukrainians from Tsarist Ukraine published here their periodicals and books; here, under the direction of the famous Kievan historian Michael Hrushevsky, the Ukrainian Shevchenko Scientific Society developed. It was by its energy a real Ukrainian Academy of Science.

Gradually the Ukrainians in Austria were overcoming the obstacles created by the ruling class of the Polish nobility, and secured new mandates in the Austrian Parliament and the Galician Diet.

186 Ukraine, demanded that the Communist Party stopped its policy of
665 Russification of the Ukrainian workers. On May 12, 1926, Shumsky declared at a session of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CP of Ukraine:

"In the Party, the Russian Communists are ruling, who treat the Ukrainian Communists with distrust and enmity".

In a letter to the Central Committee of he CP of Ukraine of February 1927, Shumsky wrote: "The Ukrainian Communist feels himself indeed a stepson of the Party".

[558] For this 'deviation' the top institutions of the Communist Party resolutely condemned Shumsky. He was deprived of his office and sent to Russia.

656 A new 'deviation' was detected in the CP of Ukraine in 1928.
186 The Communist Volobuyev showed in his articles that economi-
687 cally Ukraine was a Russian colony. He demanded for Ukraine the securing of a free economic development. Volobuyev published figures which proved that Ukraine was giving Russia almost 1/3 of her incomes without equivalent. He pointed out that Russia was sending workers from Russia into Ukraine, thus artifically creating a majority of Russian elements in the Ukrainian industrial centres *(The Bolshevik of Ukraine,* No. 3: Kharkov, 1928). Volobuyev was punished alike for this 'nationalist deviation'.

186 In spite of all these difficulties and hindrances created by the
517 Russian Government for the development of Ukrainian culture, the time of 'Ukrainisation' gave some gains for cultural Ukrainian progress, even in the conditions of the Communist dictatorship: Ukrainian shools — elementary, secondary and academic — had been organised; the Ukrainian Academy of Science developed its work extensively. In a few years of cultural work the cadres of a [538] new Ukrainian intelligentsia were created. The Ukrainian literary production developed in spite of all obstacles on the part of the Soviet régime. The protest against the oppression of Ukraine by Moscow appeared also in the Ukrainian literature: a trend arose in the Ukrainian literature with orientation towards the free civilisation of Western Europe, against Russian Communist rule (the Communist Khvylyovy). Against such 'heresy' Moscow acted with ruthless repressions.

4. Ukraine in the Time of the First Five Years Plan (1929—1934)

185 The policy of collectivisation and industrialisation started in 1929 with enormous demands on Ukrainian national economy. Moscow used the Ukrainian national economy predominantly for

[1, Alexander Shumsky, Commissar of Education -- Analyst]

871 every teacher in the schools in Ukraine had orders to spread Com-
656 munist propaganda, to fight the appearance of national discontent with the Russian rule by every means, and was obliged to insult the
[814] struggle of the Ukrainian people for liberation. In schools, Ukrainian history was falsely interpreted as well as in literature and in films. For instance, clinging to the tradition taken from Tsarist Russia, the Hetman of Ukraine Ivan Mazeppa who at the beginning of the 18th century wanted to free Ukraine from Muscovite dependence, has in Soviet historiography the epithet of a 'traitor' and 'reactionary'. But Tsar Peter I. and Tsar Ivan the Terrible, are glorified by Soviet school and science as 'progressive democratic rulers'.

659 The Ukrainian religious life under the régime of Soviet Russian
661 occupation had to suffer from special persecutions. In 1921, in Soviet Ukraine the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Autocephal Church, independent of the Moscow Patriarch, was organised. This Church, headed by its idealistic leaders, the Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivsky, Volodymyr Chekhivsky, former Premier of the Government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic in 1918—19 and others, completed a great task for the cultural and moral improvement of the Ukrainian nation. Moscow attempted to destroy the strong organisation of the Ukrainian Autocephal Church with the help of its agents, but did not succeed in this. Then the Soviet Government ruined by bloody repressions the Ukrainian Church after having destroyed its entire hierarchy and masses of its followers (1929).

661 In connection with the 'General Line' which had placed unbear-
●517 able burdens on Ukrainian economy, a mass discontent against Moscow increased among the Ukrainians. The ruthless economic
815 exploitation and political oppression by Russia caused, among the Ukrainian people, a permanent oppositon which appeared in various forms. Therefore, the Moscow Government decided to terrorise the Ukrainian intelligentsia which bore the brunt of the political efforts of the Ukrainian nation. For this purpose a number of trials against the most prominent representatives of Ukrainian science and social life were arranged; the case of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine with the participation of the prominent member of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, Serhy Yefremov, Volodymyr Chekhivsky, former Premier, Professor Osyp Hermayze and others in Kharkov, in spring 1930. Thousands of innocent people, especially students, perished in the prisoners' cells of the GPU without any trial. Simultaneously, the Ukrainian Academy of Science was exposed to repressions. In place of the imprisoned or expelled members of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, the Communists appointed their own people though without scientific merits,
46 but politically faithful to Moscow.

volunteers. At the end of World War II the Soviet Army occupied Carpatho-Ukraine. In June 1945 the Czechoslovak Government ceded this country to USSR.

4. The Ukrainians inside the Russian Soviet Republic (RSFSR)

Inside the administrative boundaries of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic there are not all territories inhabited by the Ukrainian nation. Soviet Russia did not permit the joining of the north-western parts of the Ukrainian ethnographic territory (the southern parts of the Kursk and Voronez districts) with Soviet Ukraine, though the population of these territories wished union with Ukraine. The Crimea had a considerable Ukrainian population. Together with the Tartars they had the majority in the country. Though the Russians were in minority, Crimea became part of RSFSR as an autonomous republic.

In all these provinces the Ukrainians are deprived of all national rights: they are condemned to Russification.

5. The Ukrainian Movement in the Kuban Region

The Ukrainians began to settle in the Kuban region from the end of the 18th century. Here the Russian Government allotted land for the Zaporovian Cossack Army that, after the destruction of the Cossack Fortress 'Sich' in 1775 had been for a certain time under a Turkish protectorate. Before the revolution of 1917 the polulation of the Kuban region consisted of 42,9% Cossacks who were obliged to do military service, for their whole life, and of peasants 52,8%. The rest were Circassians. 78% of all the land of the Kuban Region belonged to a state fund, and the Cossacks received allotments for their military service. The peasants took land on lease from the Cossacks. The Tsarist Government did not admit the Cossacks to education. Thus, in this country there was a lack of intelligentsia of local origin. In the towns there was a considerable influx of Russian intellectuals. After the revolution of 1917 a strong autonomist movement arose in the Kuban Region. The Kuban Cossacks created their Military Council and their Military Government. In October 1917, the Kuban Military Council proclaimed itself 'State Council', with the participation of all the nationalities of the Kuban Region, and a Kuban State Government was created, headed by the Social-Democrat Luka Bych.

After the Communist revolt in Russia, the Soviet Russian Government waged war against the region of the Don Cossacks and against the Kuban Region. During the war an alliance was formed between the Kuban State Council and the Russian Volunteer Army

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

In 1937 only 240 hours were allotted to the study of Russian in the Ukrainian elementary schools,[87] but by 1939–40 the time devoted to this language had increased to 390 hours in the urban type and 429 hours in the rural type of elementary school. The most important change, however, occurred in the middle schools, the form of general school gradually replacing the elementary schools. In the middle schools, as the table indicates, a larger proportion of hours for language study are assigned to Russian than in the elementary schools. The table also reveals that the study of Russian in the Ukrainian middle schools is given more time than the study of Ukrainian in the Russian middle schools. As for the schools of the smaller minorities, illustrated by the plan for the Jewish and Moldavian schools, Russian assumes greater importance than Ukrainian; and in the middle schools of these nationalities, the study of Ukrainian has a position far below Russian and only a little higher than that of foreign languages. The pupils of the smaller nationalities would encounter Ukrainian in their extra-school life more frequently than Russian, except in the large cities where Russian is still widely used in social intercourse; and if they were to know Ukrainian and Russian equally well, more time would have to be assigned to the latter. Likewise, the Russian pupils, except in the large cities, would be more familiar with Ukrainian than the Ukrainian pupils with Russian. Because the village children would hear Russian spoken less often than the city children the rural schools have more time allotted to Russian than do the urban schools. The study of foreign languages has become increasingly important since 1932; and only last November the Commissariat of Education decided that in some middle schools the study of French, English or German should begin in the third rather than the fifth grade, thereby raising the time devoted to foreign languages from 446 hours to 602 hours.[88]

Educational work among the older generation follows the direction of that among the children in the schools. A campaign to teach adults to read and write their mother tongues has met with substantial results, and the newly literate non-Russians are being encouraged to go on and study Russian as well as their native languages. This fostering of bi-lingualism is accompanied by an attempt on the part of the government to make the population in the Ukraine multi-cultured. Increased attention is being given to popularizing the literature and music of the Russians and of other nationalities both within and without the Soviet Union; and the Russian cinema and radio are —

[87] *Za Kommunističeskoe Prosveščenie*, May 14, 1937.
[88] *Zbirnik Nakaziv . . .* , 1940, sec. 336, pp. 8–9.

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

185
●517
191
[369]
000

in spite of efforts to produce films and to broadcast programs in the Ukrainian language — potent forces for assimilation to Russian culture. To the goal of assimilation, moreover, much is contributed by the industrialization of the Ukraine: new factories bring rural Ukrainians into the cities where Russian still predominates in social life, and the younger Ukrainians in the city easily adopt the prevailing language. But these forces for assimilation, even though coupled with the inculcation of communist doctrines through the media of education and culture, may be cancelled by a growth of nationalism; and such nationalism may thrive on the shocks of economic disorders and unsuccessful foreign war. The language policy itself promotes the process of assimilation by encouraging bi-lingualism; but by stressing the use of minority languages, it furthers at least a greater temporary diversification. The question of whether the forces of unity are now stronger or weaker than the forces of division can be answered only by the future.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

476 was made in the cooperative society's own factories. The society owned cement factories, lime plants, mills, cloth-weaving factories, bakeries, oil presses and even a factory that made boot polish and cosmetics.

439 Whither did Ukrainian goods go? Peas, beans and poultry to England and Belgium, clover seed to Holland, /94/ pigs to Germany, beef cattle via Constanta to Greece, poultry to Germany, Switzerland and to - Palestine, eggs to many countries and, in cans, as far as Buenos Aires.

[545] Sociologically noteworthy is the growth of an urban stratum of artisans, merchants and small industrialists. The Ukrainians who, much to their 369 own disadvantage, neglected the cities because of 476 their love for quiet village life, now gradually pushed into the cities, and the credit cooperatives supported them in this.

*

741 Of greatest significance for the advancement of Ukrainian culture were the societies for edu- •517 cation and public health. The society for popular 217 education, "Prosvita", was even older than the Ukrainian system of cooperatives, reaching back to 1883. It was a veritable national sanctuary of the Ukrainians. The people are indebted to it for a large part of their cultural advance. The "Prosvita" was an actual school for advanced studies in the country. In 3214 village libraries with 700,000 volumes, two instructive monthly magazines and with inexpensive editions of books, it enabled the village inhabitants who were cut off from all urban culture to obtain the knowledge which alone made it possible for them to assert themselves against their enemies. Besides that, 741 "Prosvita", which on January 1, 1938 numbered 517 360,000 members, and owned 1457 club houses with rooms for meetings, promoted group singing, music, the community theater and folk art. It helped

741 illiterates to learn to read by means of special
517 courses, and it gave scholarships to worthy students. So, it is not surprising that the Poles did not care for the "Prosvita". Thus in the last ten years all of the 600 local groups in Polesia and Volhynia and 70% of all local groups west of the Shan were dissolved. In 1938 Warsaw intensified its war against the "Prosvita"; in that year 104 local groups /95/ were dissolved and in the first five months of 1939 the same happened even to two district centers with 168 local groups. In spite of that, the Ukrainians organized 375 new local groups from 1936 to 1938.

575 Peasants and agriculturists numbering 160,000
814 united in the "Silskyj Hospodar" ("farmer") in order to arrange for or to obtain agricultural training. The "Silskyj Hospodar" employed approximately 150 social agronomists, that is, agriculturists with diplomas, who supervised improvement of the soil, methods of cultivating, seed production and whole farm establishments. They conducted courses and competitions in which the young farmers who were eager for knowledge actively participated. Special veterinarians of the society and of the dairy farm cooperatives supervised the livestock.

562 The Ukrainian women of Galicia were anxious
575 not to be second to the men. Their society "Soyuz Ukrayinok" numbered 60,000 members in 1200 village circles. In the national life of the people the Ukrainian woman occupies a high position, as is the case among all healthy races. In times of national misfortune the mothers are the preservers of the old manners and customs; the children learn the language and the traditional songs from their mothers, to whom the rising generations are entrusted. Their glowing patriotism is not surpassed by the men. At the same time the West Ukrainian woman is deeply religious and tirelessly industrious; she excels in the household.

000 Everything in West Ukraine is education work.

000 All the Ukrainian intelligentsia of Lwów and its environs, men and women, were represented, the consulates of Great Britain and France and many foreigners who love Ukrainian music - all but the Poles.

•577 Intelligentsia - that is, students of the classical schools and universities, teachers, professors, lawyers, the heads of the cooperatives, editors, writers, painters, politicians, architects, graduate agriculturists, engineers, physicians, clergymen. They were all there.* One saw remarkably many clergymen, fine men who have both feet planted firmly on Ukrainian soil. Many of them were Austrian officers in their younger days who also fought for West Ukrainian freedom. They told friends that they were prepared at any time /99/ "to exchange the cassock for a coat of mail". This is no empty talk, for most of them had already paid for their national sentiments in Polish prisons. Their metropolitan, Count Andrei Sheptyckij, is cut from the same pattern. He incurred the hatred of the Poles when he blessed the autonomous Carpatho-Ukraine and half a year later its dead. Before he was drawn to the church, he, the cavalry captain of his Majesty, hunted bears, lynxes and wild boars. The trophies from that gay time are now hanging in the anteroom of the archbishop. Today he is an old man who has been in ill health for a long time. Years ago the tall, vigorous man was often compared to Michelangelo's Moses.

Count Andrei Sheptycki was a member of the Polonized Ukrainian high nobility. Like many Polish aristocrats with Ukrainian coats of arms, his brothers belonged to the Polish szlachta; he alone found his way home to the Ukrainian people. Neither the Poles nor the Ukrainians have a dearth of nobility. In Volhynia "the 16th and 17th centuries fairly seethed with princely houses". Whenever the Polish kings needed warriors for their expeditions, they raised the wealthy peasants to

556
565

*[At a Ukrainian concert in Lwów, incidental to the information - Analyst]

the peerage and gave them rights and privileges for which the newly-created peers were obliged to pay with military service. In this way the lower szlachta increased to many hundreds of thousands of knights and barons who were often not much richer than the ordinary peasants. In the purely Polish regions and in West Ukraine there are still whole villages in which every peasant belongs to the nobility. Whoever was able to present his patent of nobility in Galicia after the partitioning of Poland was recognized as a peer by the Viennese court. In this way arose the Ritter /knights/ von Vitvicky, von Mogylnicki, von Kultshycki and whatever the rest are called.

Whereas the high nobility, with the exception of people like the former Princes Ostrozhsky, does not play any part in promoting culture in modern times in the Ukraine, the lesser nobility were for a long time practically the only bearers of Ukrainian culture. They made up the clergy almost exclusively. /100/ The pastors with their numerous children were often the only and the inexhaustible source of Ukrainian intelligentsia. Otherwise there were no intellectual professions open to the Ukrainians. Only the Catholics, that is to say, the Poles could become officials.

The Poles held to the old traditions of the lower nobility in their "Union of village szlachta". According to the latest Polish conception, the lower Ukrainian nobility are Ukrainized Poles. By promising them additional land and other material advantages, Warsaw wanted to catch the 400,000 "aristocratic souls". If this had succeeded, the Poles would have come a good deal closer to a majority in Galicia.

*

"In this cottage, in this grove
A hell I saw! Nothing but slavery
And bitter servitude, that never justice knows

517 While the Ukrainian language was being banned from Kiyev, a new flowering of Ukrainian culture was beginning in the West Ukrainian metropolis [741] of Lwów. In 1873 Ukrainian men of learning founded the "Scientific Shevchenko Society", a free academy. The number of Ukrainian chairs at the University grew. Now that all scholarly activity in the Ukrainian language was curtailed in East Ukraine, professors and writers transferred their field of activity to Lwów where a number of different cultural organizations arose. Kiyev as the intellectual hub of all Ukraine was outstripped by Lwów, in fact, even by Czernovits /now Chernovtsy/. Each of these two cities published more than one hundred Ukrainian works in 1894, whereas Kiyev published only ten works of so-called "literature for the home".

177 The revolution of 1905 only temporarily eased the pressure on Ukrainian cultural life. Freedom of the press and freedom of assembly remained only promises, and the "unity and indivisibility" of the Russian people was nothing but lifeless dogma until in 1917 its defenders were swept away by the seceding peoples.

517 Despite all difficulties, Lwów remained the 668 cultural center of West Ukraine even after the [741] first World War. Its focal point was the "Scientific /104/ Shevchenko Society" which published its own periodicals and scholarly works. The spiritual trend of West Ukrainian intellectuals, in so far as they were not obliged to emigrate, was directed against traditional sentimentality. Young people were reared to think politically, to be ready for action and for dedication. In accordance with the political aims, the subject matter of present-day West Ukrainian literature shows a preference for the re-awakening of the Ukrainian people, for the heroic struggles of the last few decades, and for the heroic in the Ukrainian landscape.

517 156 [214] Kiyev, Khar'kov and Odessa are the most important centers of East Ukrainian intellectual life. It is there that most of the Ukrainian books, periodicals and newspapers are published. Besides that, the Ukrainian tongue is also printed in many smaller cities. Many of the Soviet Ukrainian authors glorify present conditions; these are the interpreters of Communism, the worshipers of machines and idols. But there are also others, like Khvylovy, who in truthful pamphlets derided the state of affairs, the proletarian wirepullers, their ingenuousness, their venality and their eagerness to work their way up, authors who write with a nationalistic purpose, who are "exposed" and then, like Khvylovy, come to an unfortunate end. "Experts maintain that even in the works of the Ukrainian Communist writers, especially the younger ones, the national feeling cannot be hidden, that an inner schism appears in their works. They do not actually belong to proletarian literature which has remained inwardly foreign to them. How could it be otherwise with such a past!" (56) /Facing page 104/

56. Zalozieckyj, ibid.

439 /Map VIII: Grain Export from the Soviet Ukraine and North Caucasus (Average for 1927/1928) This map differentiates between actual Soviet Ukraine and the North Caucasus regions. Export to foreign countries is insignificant compared to supplies sent to the Greater Russian areas of the Soviet Union situated in the forest belt./ /Key: Grain: ● from Soviet Ukraine, ● from the North Caucasus./

/105/ Trapping Souls

798 On Sunday, May 29, 1939 a unique event took place in the church of St. Peter in Rome:

668 sech sharp shooters, Ievhen Konovalets who, after Petliura reached an understanding with the Poles, separated from the dictator. Konovalet's successor is the former chief of staff of the Ukrainian army, chief of the sech sharp shooters Andrey Melnyk who was obliged to flee from Poland in 1938. The OUN has its strongest support in the Ukrainian emigrants in the USA - "Organization for the Political Revival of the Ukraine, New York" -, in Canada and South America. But also among the 150,000 European political refuges and emigrants it has the most adherents of all groups large and small. There are Ukrainian nationalists in almost all Central and West European capitals, among others in Rome, in Paris and in London where the "English-Ukrainian Society" establishes contact with the Ukrainian emigrants in Canada.

*

167 /187/ When in the second half of the past century economic conditions became more and more unbearable in the Ukraine, many Ukrainians emigrated; from the Russian Ukraine to East Russia, from Galicia, from Carpatho-Ukraine, and from Bukovina overseas. In 1926, 771,000 Ukrainians lived outside the Ukraine proper in small and large linguistic islands, within European Russia, and 2,138,000 lived in Asia. In the United States there were about 700,000 Ukrainians, primarily workers; in Canada there were 300,000 mostly farmers; in Brazil 50,000 to 60,000, in Argentina 50,000, in the rest of the South American countries 10,000 to 20,000. (134)

134. Kubiyovich: Geography, page 321.

•519 Organizations of compatriots of various kinds keep the Ukrainians together overseas. The closest ties are those between the farmers in

[Vienna] [Prague] [Warsaw] [Paris]
517 Canada. But the numerous Ukrainians in northern America have only insignificant cultural facilities. All the more highly developed is Ukrainian intellectual life among the emigrants in Central Europe. When the Poles, the Rumanians and the Bolsheviks arrived, the Ukrainian professors fled from Lwów, Czernovitz and from the universities of Russia, chiefly to Vienna. This Danubin city had an important Ukrainian tradition at that time. Its position in relation to Galicia was favorable. Many ties bount it to this country which under Austrian rule had experienced an unusual growth.

Thus it was in Vienna that the Ukrainian intellectual world gathered in 1920 to 1921; the scholars had an urge for activity. And so the "Free Ukrainian University" opened its doors on January 17, 1921, solemnly and in the presence of the officials of German Austria. It had two departments, philosophy and law.

Meanwhile the former Sorbonne student Eduard Benevs, at the time secretary of foreign affairs of "Czechoslovakia", knew well what was meant by cultural propaganda. He soon managed to cut off the "Free Ukrainian University" in Vienna. First of all he lured the /188/ poor homeless Ukrainian students to Prague with scholarships and later also attracted their professors. In Prague an active Ukrainian academic life unfolded in the years that followed.

In 1939, the Ukrainian men of learning who lived in foreign countries were active at ten scientific institutes. Six of these are in Prague: the Ukrainian Academic Association, the Ukrainian Historical-Philological Society, the Ukrainian Juridical Society, the Ukrainian Sociological Institute, the Ukrainian Historical Cabinet and the "Museum of the Wars of Independence of the Ukraine". There are two in Warsaw: the Ukrainian Scientific Institute and the Mazepa-Mogyla Academy of Sciences. One is in Paris, the

[Berlin]

517 Petliura Library. Finally, there is the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin.

/189/ Epilogue

181 After their liberation from the Soviet-Muscovite yoke the Ukrainian people have, for the first time in their recent history, had an opportunity to develop their talents and their natural resources freely and unimpeded for their own benefit. The tremendous amount of work that remains to be done can be estimated only by someone who is familiar with the incomparable misery which war-communism, more than two decades of Bolshevik rule and finally liberation from this rule have brought upon the Ukrainian country and its people. Reconstruction will necessarily be all the more difficult since the Ukrainians have to this day remained a peasant people, without their own artisans, without a merchant class, without officials and almost without a so-called intelligentsia. This fact has been very important for the biological survival of the Ukrainian people, for its seed thus withstood the most dire distress of centuries of suppression. Nevertheless: peasants are not statesmen! Peasants want to plow, sow, reap and tend their cattle. Thus it is not a matter of chance that, aside from its historical struggle against the Asiatic hordes, the most important achievement of the Ukrainian people is of a rural character: in the colonization of the steppes, of Siberian and far-eastern lands the Ukrainians have achieved great things. "In fact," says the well-known Ukrainian geographer Rudnickiy, "the entire life force of the nation was directed toward the one single problem of occupying new areas and cultivating them according to old customs." Nevertheless - "the political idea suffered thereby, as well as Ukrainian culture and the Ukrainian city." /190/

15: Pap S-4, 5 (no date) 1952 RD1 Ukraine RD1

668 munist Party was itself in a very serious crisis. After Lenin's death on January 21, 1924, the top Party officials struggled among themselves for political leadership. For this reason, the national question was not even raised at the fourteenth Congress of the All-Russian Communist Party held on December 18 to 31, 1925. The Congress was entirely occupied with ironing out the sharp split within the Party. Despite the strong opposition lead by Sinoviev and Kamenev, who fought for a collective responsibility of the Politburo, the Congress made Stalin the individual dictator of the Party, giving him unrestricted authority.[34]

668 517 Utilizing this struggle between the Russian Communists, Ukrainian writers and historians wrote and published new literature about their past and inspired resistance to Moscow's domination. One of the most influential among these writers with the courage to reject openly Moscow's right to dominate his people was Mykola Khvylovyj. During the revolution he was among the Ukrainian Communists who were misled by Bolshevik slogans and took active part in the struggle against the "bourgeois" national Government of the Ukraine. He believed in the international program of the Russian Communist Party which promised the people "land, liberty and friendship among nations." Under the impact of existing developments, however, Khvylovyj realized that the Russian Bolsheviks nurtured the idea of the "single and indivisible Russia" and that only the forms of oppression were changed. His conclusion was based upon the fact that the Bolshevik recognition of the Soviet Ukrainian Republic was composed of empty phrases and deceptions since the real political force in the Ukraine was concentrated in Russian hands. Khvylovyj now openly declared that his people could survive as a nation and live in freedom and peace only if they are able to secede from Russia. His appeal, "Away from Moscow, back to Europe," was received by Ukrainians with enthusiasm and by the Soviet leaders with considerable anxiety. Referring to the dangerous influence of Khvylovyj's writings, Stalin wrote:

> Khvylovyj's demand for "The immediate russification of the proletariat" of the Ukraine, his opinion that "Ukrainian poetry must get

34 For the story of Stalin's seizure of power see: *XIV. Sjezd Wsesojuznoji Communisticheskoji Partiyi (B), December 18-31, 1925*, Stenograficheskij otchet (Partizdat, Moscow, 1926), pp. 207-298.

15: Pap S-4, 5 (no date) 1952 RD1 Ukraine RD1

668
517

away from the Russian literature and its style as quickly as possible," his assertion that "the ideas of the proletariat are known to us without Moscow art," his enthusiasm for a sort of Messianic role of the "young" Ukrainian intelligentsia and his ludicrous and non-Marxist attempt to divorce culture from politics—all this, and much like it, in the mouth of a Ukrainian Communist now sounds (must sound) more than strange. Whereas the proletarians of Western Europe and their Communist Parties are full of sympathy for "Moscow" the citadel of the international revolutionary movement and of Leninism, whereas the proletarians of Western Europe turn with joy toward the banner waving over Moscow, the Ukrainian Communist Khvylovyj has nothing better to say for "Moscow" than to appeal to Ukrainian public men to get away from "Moscow as quickly as possible!" And this is called internationalism! What can we say of other Ukrainian intellectuals, not belonging to the Communist camp, if Communists begin to talk, and not only talk, but also to write in our Soviet press, in the language of Comrade Khvylovyj?[35]

Despite the fact that the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic secured for Moscow centralized power, internal developments in the Ukraine were at first not affected as much as many Russian Communists anticipated. On the contrary, the first years of Union status were marked by the promotion of Soviet Ukrainian statehood. Alongside the Kremlin's appointed Commissariats, the Ukraine possessed a well-organized administration of its own and its "Government" took very seriously the creation of the Soviet Ukrainian Republic. Kharkov and later Kiev defended the interests of the Ukraine with steadfast determination. The growth of a Ukrainian culture national in substance, fostered by Khvylovyj, progressed so rapidly that Stalin was again stirred to an open admission of its danger when he said in 1929:

> If we had nothing else but these discussions about Khvylovyj, which have become so wide and heated in the Ukraine, there would already be enough for profound alarm.[36]

668

The national question was once again raised at the sixteenth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party. Stalin proposed a new Nationalities' policy which would promote a culture socialistic in sub-

---

35 J. V. Stalin's letter "To Comrade Kaganovich and other members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (B) of Ukraine," dated April 26, 1926, first published in a complete form in *Sotchineniya*, Vol. VIII (Moscow, 1948), pp. 149-154.

36 Cf. Mykola Sciborsky, *Ukraine and Russia* (New York, 1940), p. 43.

744 Europe; and many people used to die every year from tuberculosis and
164 other chest complaints. Severe epidemics—typhoid and dysentry—used
146 to ravage the country every year; inadequate regulation of rivers and stagnant waters gave rise to malaria; undernourishment of large sections of the population was responsible for sporadic pellagra. Venereal diseases were a curse owing to lack of medical attention and of appropriate legislation.

744 This enormous task was tackled with commendable vigour by the
185 authorities of the Republic. In a country which used to have very few doctors, a proper medical service was soon organised; up-to-date hospitals and children's homes were built; Red Cross stations and other hygiene and welfare institutions, set up in many parts of Ruthenia, strove to prevent and combat disease. This systematic effort resulted in a substantial reduction of mortality, while the draining of marshlands and the regulation of streams and ponds considerably checked epidemics.

185 Realising that ignorance is the root of many social evils, the State
871 regarded the raising of the standard of education in Ruthenia as one of its foremost tasks. The achievements in this field were perhaps the most striking. A country, which in 1918 had not more than eighteen elementary schools where children were only partly taught in Ruthenian, possessed 520 Ruthenian schools two years later; and after fifteen years of independence this small country in the Carpathians could boast 1,079 schools of various kinds—elementary, upper, secondary, technical and special schools. The magnitude of this achievement becomes evident when it is borne in mind that it was necessary to educate the requisite number of Ruthenian teachers from among the rising generation.

871 Thanks to these efforts illiteracy among the younger people has
212 become rare. Those Ruthenians who according to the last census of
185 1930 were still unable to read and write were largely middle-aged or old people. But even among them illiteracy has been considerably reduced because evening schools for adults were opened wherever pos-
517 sible. The people of Ruthenia proved to be keen pupils. Within a few years the neglected country had a promising intelligentsia—administrative workers, teachers, journalists, writers, doctors, engineers, composers, artists and scientists. In the thirties more than eighty periodicals, among them ten dailies, appeared in Ruthenia, and the production of books grew from year to year. The innate aptitude for arts and crafts was given a chance of development when a special art school was established in Užhorod, and musical talent, too, received much encouragement. As many as 7.7 per cent of all musical compositions and songs broadcast by Czechoslovak radio stations were the work of Ruthenian musicians.

000 Economic development was essential to a country where bread used

of the Soviet State and served the purposes of a centralistic leadership. The Ukrainians, led by Rakovsky and Skrypnik, also made efforts to keep their own Commissariats for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade, to maintain at least some degree of control over the railway system and postal services in their territory and in general to curtail the prerogatives conferred on the all-Union Peoples Commissariats.[3]

S.U. 631 186 UK. 186 642

The Ukrainians were defeated and Stalin got his centralistic constitution accepted which, in the long run, enabled him to rule in Kharkov and Kiev almost in the same way as in Moscow and Leningrad.

COMMUNIST IRREDENTA AND 'UKRAINIZATION' POLICY

Though ignoring the wishes of the Ukrainians regarding their constitutional status within the U.S.S.R., Stalin offered them a glittering consolation prize; the promise of a future Ukrainian State, to include all the Ukrainian lands which the peace settlement after the First World War had allocated to Rumania, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

This aim was to be achieved with the help of the Comintern and its policy on the national question. Many Ukrainians, though anti-Soviet 'bourgeois nationalists' at heart, were inclined to make peace outwardly with Bolshevism in the first years of the Soviet régime, because world-Communism stood for the most far-reaching fulfilment of Ukrainian national aspirations.

The Fifth World Congress of the Comintern in 1924 included in its resolution on the 'National Question in Central Europe and the Balkans' the following passage 'The Congress . . . considers it necessary for the Communist Parties of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania to launch the general slogan of separation of the Ukrainian lands from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, and their union with the Soviet Ukraine and through it, with the U.S.S.R.'. The congress was satisfied that the Communist Parties of Poland and Rumania had successfully promoted the demand for Ukrainian self-determination. From the details of the resolution it appeared that the frontiers of a future united Ukraine were to be drawn slightly to the west of the Russian-Polish border as fixed in 1945.[4]

The wish of certain groups of Ukrainian nationalists to come to terms with the Soviet régime was reinforced by an apparent readiness of the Soviet Government to grant to the Ukrainians a certain measure of freedom in the cultural field, provided that they recognized the totalitarian aspirations of the Communist Party. An expression of this policy of communist-nationalist co-operation was the fact that the historian of Ukrainian nationalism, Mikhail Hrushevsky, returned to Kiev in 1924 to take over the direction of the historical section of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

UK. 186 517

21: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1952 R1 Soviet Union
UKRAINE RD1

186 For the next few years Ukrainian intellectuals were absorbed with the cultural 'Ukrainization' of the Ukraine, for which Moscow gave a free
● 517 hand while firmly controlling the posts of political command. The Ukrainian language came into its own, a scientific Ukrainian terminology was created, and Ukrainian book production had a boom.

THE FIRST PURGES

186 The Soviet authorities soon discovered that the Ukrainian nationalist
665 renaissance could not be arrested halfway and that cultural nationalism was bound to lead to political nationalism. The Ukrainian nationalists on the other hand, found out that in a totalitarian State like the U.S.S.R. there could be no real freedom, not even for Ukrainian cultural nationalism. From 1926 onwards the contradictions between Ukrainian nationalism and the communist State became more and more noticeable. Before hitting out against the bourgeois Ukrainian nationalist groups which conspired against the Soviet régime, the Kremlin had to make order within the Ukrainian Communist Party itself. The latter had originated from the amalgamation of the Bolsheviks with a genuine home-grown communist movement, the Borotbists. They were a left-wing extremist group called after the Ukrainian émigré newspaper *Borotba* published in Geneva in 1915. From the ideological point of view they had much in common with Marshal Tito's Yugoslav communists. They insisted on unconditional national independence, but in every other respect their aims were indistinguishable from those of the Bolsheviks. In 1919 the Borotbists assumed the title of 'Ukrainian Communist Party (Borotbists)' and applied for membership of the Communist International. Together with the Ukrainian Bolsheviks proper they formed the first Ukrainian Soviet Government, the All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee which organized the fight against General Denikin's White Guards. Lenin valued the co-operation of the Borotbists and stated that the question of Ukrainian independence should be no reason for disunity between them and the Bolsheviks, the more so since a section of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks favoured an independent status for the Ukraine.[5] The merger of the two communist fractions in March 1920 was of great value to the Bolsheviks for the Borotbists exercised considerable influence on the Ukrainian masses.

The Borotbist traditions of Ukrainian communism explain to a considerable extent the particular strength of nationalist heresy within the Ukrainian Communist Party. The first Borotbist deviations were officially labelled as 'Khvylovy-ism' and 'Shumsky-ism' after Mikola Khvylovy, an outstanding Ukrainian writer and Oleksandr Shumsky, Minister of Education. Both Khvylovy and Shumsky scandalized orthodox communists in the middle of the twenties by their outspoken western

1/1 [Cf. cat. 186, pp. 129-130, 21: Kolarz -- Analyst]